



E
415
.9
D6Pa

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Chap. E 415

Shelf 9
II 6 P2

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BANQUET

IN HONOR OF

MAJOR-GEN. JOHN A. DIX,

LATE ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND
MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY

FROM THE UNITED STATES TO FRANCE,

GIVEN BY

THE AMERICANS IN PARIS,

Tuesday, June 4, 1869.



A. R. Hall
with Company 100 Men & 100 Horses
to Pangu

part the with his Works



Paris. American citizens.

"

BANQUET

IN HONOR OF

MAJOR-GEN. JOHN A. DIX,

LATE ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND
MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY

FROM THE UNITED STATES TO FRANCE,

GIVEN BY

THE AMERICANS OF PARIS,

TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1869.



PARIS: IMPRIMERIE KUGELMANN, RUE DES JEUNEURS.
1869.

E415
19
16 P 2

ε ε ε
ε ε ε
ε ε ε
ε ε ε

INTRODUCTION.

On the retirement of Major-General John A. Dix from his official position as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to France, it seemed desirable to many Americans resident in Paris, that some public acknowledgment should be expressed by them to him, for varied civic and military services at home, as well as for the honor he had more recently reflected upon American diplomacy abroad.

A meeting was accordingly called, on the 13th of May, for the purpose of taking such preliminary steps as might seem necessary to the appropriate realisation of the presumed wishes of all our compatriots.

Dr. THOMAS W. EVANS was invited to take the chair.

At this meeting the following resolutions were passed:—

Resolved—“That Major-General JOHN A. DIX be invited to accept a complimentary dinner to be given by the Americans in Paris, at as early a day as may suit his convenience.”

Resolved—“That this dinner shall be public—open to ladies and gentlemen.”

Resolved—“That the Committee of Invitation shall consist of those persons present at this meeting and of all invited to be present, as also of such other persons as the Committee of Organization may think it proper to add.”

The business of the meeting was completed by the appointment of the following special committees:—

COMMITTEE OF ORGANIZATION.

THOMAS W. EVANS, M.D.,	NATHAN APPLETON,
JOHN MUNROE,	FRANK LIVERMORE, M.D.,
JAMES PHALEN,	E. R. ANDREWS,
LORILLARD SPENCER,	S. P. DEWEY,
HENRY WOODS,	ISAAC H. BURCH,
	W. E. JOHNSTON, M.D.

DINNER COMMITTEE.

W. P. FETRIDGE,	CHARLES B. NORTON,
A. VAN BERGEN,	H. BREVOORT,
GEO. T. RICHARDS,	E. A. CRANE, M.D.,
JAMES W. TUCKER.	

MUSIC COMMITTEE.

H. A. SHACKELFORD,	JOHN W. CRANE,
EUGENE WINTHROP,	F. LOUBAT,
GEO. S. PARTRIDGE.	

The proposition to offer a testimonial of respect and esteem to our late Minister, was received by our countrymen with a spontaneity and unanimity of feeling which were as satisfactory to them, as they have been pleasing and graceful tributes to the man we would honor.

On the 21st of May the Committee of Organization drew up the following letter of invitation to General Dix, which subsequently received the signatures of the gentlemen whose names are annexed.

“To His Excellency Major-General JOHN A. DIX, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary near the Emperor of the French.

“SIR,

“It has seemed to many of our countrymen resident in Paris, that the moment of your retirement from the responsible representative position which you have so worthily held at the French

Court, will furnish a proper occasion on which to offer you some testimonial in appreciation of your various public services.

“ During the years of a cruel and calamitous war, you gave to our country your counsel and the example of a noble and pure patriotism. You have more recently, in the discharge of the delicate diplomatic and official duties entrusted to you by our Government, been distinguished by a love of country and a fidelity to its interests equally great; by an ability, wisdom, and discretion equally eminent; and by a courtesy and amenity in your daily intercourse with us, which have gained for you our warmest friendship.

“ Prompted by these considerations, we now ask you, in behalf of all our countrymen who may be in Paris, to name some day convenient to yourself when they may tender to you a public dinner, and convey to you in an appropriate manner their sentiments of respect and esteem.

“ PARIS, *May 21, 1869.*

(Signed)

“ Thomas W. Evans, M.D.,	Albert R. Reed,
John Munroe,	James E. Caldwell,
James Phalen,	Meredith Bailey,
Lorillard Spencer,	Gilbert C. Rice,
Henry Woods,	William B. Bowles,
Nathan Appleton,	Commander R. B. Lowry,
Frank Livermore, M.D.,	Oscar G. Sawyer,
S. P. Dewey,	Edward A. Crane, M.D.,
Isaac H. Burch,	J. B. Brown,
E. R. Andrews,	J. S. Delprat,
W. E. Johnston, M.D.,	Sereno D. Nickerson,
John H. Harjes,	Edmund H. Miller,
Joseph H. Parsons,	Benj. Smith,
Charles Pepper,	J. C. Warren,
Edward Moore,	P. H. Coolidge,
Edward Pepper,	Chas. Tudor Stewart,
J. Van Schaick,	Francis Skinner,
Chas. D. Hollins,	A. L. Tubbs,
H. P. Borie,	Launt Thompson,
John Struthers,	John B. Alley,
John Ware,	Charles Lherbette,
James W. Tucker,	Elliot C. Cowdin,

John W. Crane,	A. Van Bergen,
Chas. Addoms,	A. D. Jessup,
Henry A. Hurlbut,	H. S. Bradford,
Thomas P. Rich,	L. D. McPherson,
Edward C. Johnson,	S. M. Quincy,
George H. Howard,	Francis Greenwood Young,
Ernest Tuckerman,	J. B. Haggin,
Amos R. Eno,	Chas. A. Du Bouchet,
E. W. Fisk,	Philip Henry Brown,
Wm. H. Vanderbilt,	Fredk. L. de Forest,
F. Loubat,	Chas. Van Blunt,
Wm. A. Booth,	Wed. W. Clarke,
W. H. Russell,	Lewis B. Parsons,
N. N. Vesey,	Alfred L. Tyler,
Jathan Post,	A. O. Tyler,
John A. Robinson,	Jno. J. Ryan,
Thomas Robinson,	Harrison Ritchie,
J. Armstrong,	Albert Lee Ward,
Bayard Clarke,	Michael Weaver,
W. Pembroke Fetridge,	Lewis Bullard,
Chas. S. Douglas,	D. C. M. Ruer,
Wm. H. Appleton,	Henry C. Davis,
Wm. E. Howe,	John H. Saunders,
George Evans,	H. A. Shackelford,
H. A. Stone,	J. C. Kane,
Thomas Clark,	William Slade,
J. Augustus Hamilton,	A. Stone, jun.,
Samuel H. Kennedy,	Ezra Farnsworth,
Bronson C. Rumsey,	Joseph Tuckerman,
H. G. Curtis,	Charles S. Robinson,
Thomas J. Bryan,	George Merrill,
Eugene Winthrop,	Seymour L. Huxted,
E. W. Lehman,	Thomas Taylor
J. Norris Robinson,	J. A. McKean,
Robt. A. Turner,	John Stearns,
James W. Grimes,	J. L. Lombard,
W. R. Overman,	Edward Leavitt,
H. Brevoort,	Theodore S. Evans,
Levi Taylor,	Chas. W. Darling,
J. West Rulon,	Benj. S. Welles,
Geo. W. Carpenter,	Thomas Van Zandt,
J. Q. A. Warren,	Martin Zborowski,
J. W. Swift,	H. H. Magil,
Adolph Kohn,	W. H. Riggs,
J. J. Bailey,	Henry Scudder,
Edward Clark,	H. M. Heuston,

Wm. Edgar,	J. A. Hamilton,
Horace Craighead,	Jefferson Rives,
Geo. T. Jones,	James D. Carhart,
Jos. Kerrick Riggs,	Walter Gregory,
Geo. T. Richards,	W. Sheldon Smith,
Edward Gage,	Charles Townsend,
J. F. Butterworth,	James P. Fogg,
Ferdinand Suydam,	Francis G. Young,
Lawrence Kip,	G. Montagu Hicks,
Eugene Dewey,	L. Kenoe,
Leonard W. Jerome,	D. R. Simson,
Benj. Moore,	Ernest E. Cook,
John C. Kruger,	Erasme Cusainey,
James Bowdoin,	John Savage,
Charles B. Norton,	S. H. Ringe,
C. S. McClenen,	August Biesel,
J. H. McClenen,	E. Bliss, M.D.,
L. Hubert,	Geo. A. Fellow,
John C. Waller,	James L. Butler,
Charles W. Darling,	E. Delessert,
Franklin J. Kinney,	Merritt Armstrong,
Geo. S. Partridge,	Fulton Cutting,
Marion Sims, M.D.,	L. C. Austen,
Maurice Strakosch,	Robert Remsen,
H. G. Chadwick,	A. Bierstadt,
James McDowell, M.D.,	Thomas Pratt, M.D.,
James Gallatin,	Henry Wickhoff,
Albert Gallatin,	Thos. J. Bryan,
John C. Cruger,	J. Howard Wainwright,
Aug. Whiting,	Fred. G. Foster,
Hamilton Wyld,	Wm. E. Howe,
Isaac L. Lloyd,	F. Oecks,
Shelden Leavitt,	S. A. Lamanos."
Mr. W. S. Gurnee,	

To this letter General Dix returned the following reply:—

“PARIS, 24th May, 1869.

“GENTLEMEN,

“I have received your letter of the 21st instant, tendering me a public dinner on the occasion of my retirement from the position of Minister Plenipotentiary to France.

“ For the very kind expressions, with which the offer is accompanied, I beg you to accept my sincere thanks. I am sure I need not say to you how fully I appreciate this courtesy as a testimonial of your approbation and friendly regard. It will afford me unfeigned gratification to meet my countrymen here in Paris once more before my approaching departure from them ; and, at your suggestion, I name the 1st of June proximo as a day which will be convenient to me, as I hope it may be to them.

“ I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Most truly and respectfully yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

“ MESSRS. THOS. W. EVANS, M.D.,
JOHN MUNROE,
JAMES PHALEN,
LORILLARD SPENCER,
HENRY WOODS,
NATHAN APPLETON,
FRANK LIVERMORE, M.D.,
S. P. DEWEY,
ISAAC H. BURCH,
W. E. JOHNSTON, M.D.,
EDWARD R. ANDREWS.”

General Dix’s letter of acceptance having been received, it remained for the Committee of Organization and the Associate Committees to execute their purposes.

The Grand Hotel was selected as the most suitable place for the proposed banquet, and Mr. Elliot C. Cowdin was chosen to preside on the occasion.

Letters of special invitation were addressed to His Excellency the Hon. E. B. Washburne, the successor of General Dix, near the Emperor of the French ; to their Excellencies all the Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers resident from the United States to European Courts ; to His Excellency the Hon. Anson Burlingame, Ambassador from China ; to the Hon. Alexander H. Bullock, late Governor of Massachusetts ; and to others. Letters of acceptance were received from His Excellency the Hon. Mr. Washburne ; from His Excellency the Hon. Mr. Burlingame ; from the Hon. Alexander H. Bullock ; and from others. Letters were also received from a number of distinguished gentlemen whose engagements prevented their attendance at the banquet.

B A N Q U E T.

BANQUET.

The banquet was held at the Grand Hotel on Tuesday evening, June 1st. A few minutes before eight o'clock, General Dix arrived at the Hotel, accompanied by Dr. Thomas W. Evans, who had been charged by the Committee of Organization to wait upon the distinguished guest at his residence.

The company entered the dining-room at eight o'clock. This large and elegant room was most tastefully adorned with American and French flags, while the tables were beautifully decorated with flowers. The *coup d'œil* was really magnificent.

As the company took their assigned places, national airs were given by the orchestra.

The Chairman of the Dinner Committee is certainly entitled to very great credit for the admirable manner in which everything connected with the seating of the company was arranged.

At the principal table, which was placed upon an *estrade*, or elevated platform, Mr. Elliot C. Cowdin presided. On his right were seated Major-General Dix, Mrs. Anson Burlingame, the Hon. Alexander H. Bullock, Mrs. Thomas W. Evans, Mr. John Munroe, Mr. James Phalen, the Rev. Mr. Lamson. On the left of the President were seated His Excellency Elihu B. Washburne, Minister from the United States to France; Mrs. Alexander H. Bullock; His Excellency Anson Burlingame, Minister from China; Mrs. Elliot C. Cowdin, Dr. Thomas W. Evans, Mr. S. P. Dewey, the Rev. Dr. Robinson.

The following gentlemen and ladies were present as invited guests:—

Major-General John A. Dix, His Excellency the Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, His Excellency the Hon. Anson Burlingame, Mrs. Anson Burlingame, the Hon. Alexander H. Bullock, Mrs. Alexander H. Bullock, Mr. Elliot C. Cowdin, Mrs. Cowdin, the Rev. Mr. Lamson, Mrs. Lamson, the Rev. Dr. Robinson, Mrs. Robinson.

More than three hundred and fifty guests and members of the American colony at Paris sat down at the tables.

When all had taken their seats, the President arose and called upon the Rev. Mr. Lamson to ask a blessing.

GRACE.

Almighty God, the Author of our being and Preserver of our lives, from whom cometh every good gift, we look to Thee to-night to sanctify with Thy blessing the social pleasure we are here to enjoy. May we be so guided in the use of Thy bounty and in the business of honoring human worth that we do nothing unseemly in Thy sight; but that, rendering to Thee supreme gratitude and honor, we may so please Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

After the company had partaken of a sumptuous dinner, the President, calling the assembly to order, spoke as follows :—

SPEECH OF MR. ELLIOT C. COWDIN.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—

In assuming the duties of the chair, which the partiality of your committee has assigned me, while I am grateful for the honor, I ask your generous indulgence.

We meet as Americans, to pay homage to the late Minister of the United States, a distinguished statesman, who, during a long life of civil, military, and diplomatic service, has shed lustre upon the American name at home and abroad, in peace and in war. (Applause.)

In your behalf I bid him welcome to this festive board, and assure him that this gathering of his friends on the eve of his departure is but a slight acknowledgment of their appreciation of his generous hospitality, his uniform courtesy and urbanity, his consistency and singleness of purpose, and, above all, of his elevated christian character and example, long to be cherished with grateful remembrance by his admiring countrymen. (Great applause.)

Assembled as we are in the great capital of Europe, and conscious of its privileges, let us foster good-fellowship with the people of every nation, gleaning from their opinions and deeds what is valuable to ourselves. Especially, let us hope that the friendly relations which have always existed between France and the United States—so recently reaffirmed by the Emperor and the President—may continue for ever, and that these great nations may be rivals only in their efforts to elevate, civilize, and christianize mankind.

The mutual interests and natural sympathies of the people of the Old World and the New, irresistibly grow stronger and stronger as time rolls on.

The progress of trade and the liberal arts have thrown a stout, though invisible, net-work of mutual dependence around the most distant empires. They can no longer be as isolated as of yore.

The march of civilization has not only thrown open the ports of Japan to the trade of enterprising and enlightened nations, but it has trampled down the walls of China itself; and to-day we behold an American citizen, a gallant champion of progress and reform, the honored representative of that vast empire to the great Powers of the world. (Great applause.)

Our own country, in spite of two foreign wars and a gigantic rebellion, has outrun even the prophecies of enthusiasm.

Scarcely more than half a century ago Talleyrand, the prince of European diplomatists, speaking of the United States to the First Napoleon, said, "It is a giant without bones." Behold it now!

Our forty millions of people, elevated by peace and hardened by war; our railways and telegraphs stretching in every direction, aye, and spanning the Continent itself in their Brierean grasp; our long rivers and broad lakes, floating their myriads of ships and steamers; the keels of our foreign commerce, fretting every sea; our pleasure yachts, framed to skim quiet harbors, braving the storms of the Atlantic in mid-winter for mere sport, and startling Neptune himself with their daring; our workshops and manufactories, mingling the music of their machinery with the roar of innumerable water-falls; the steady advancement of our people in the industrial arts, attracting to their aid genius and skilled labor from all nations; our arms, ringing in successful trial on the training fields of Europe; our boundless prairies and exhaustless mines, teeming with life and industry; the fecundity of our cotton-fields, bringing the manufacturers of all Europe to our shores; the fertility

of our soil, the cheapness of our lands, and our free home-stead law, which lure countless immigrants from over the sea, and enable the poorest citizen to become the tiller of his own acres ; our common schools, whose doors swing open at the touch of the humblest child ; the liberty of speech and of the press, with freedom to worship God according to the dictates of an untrammelled conscience ; the general diffusion of the electoral suffrage, whereby each citizen exerts a direct influence upon the Government to which he yields obedience ; in a word, our manifold achievements, scientific, industrial, political, and more especially the working out to a successful demonstration through ninety years of eventful history the great problem that a government of the people, by the people, for the people, can grow stronger and stronger day by day, amid the prosperity of peace and the calamity of war.

These, *these*, are the “bones” of our American “giant.”
(Applause.)

Is not such a country and such a people worthy of the best efforts of the best men ?

Of the countless illustrations of American enterprise, I may mention the Pacific Railway, built in the interest of peace, in time of war. To our honored guest, the successful completion of this great work is largely due, for he was its first president.

I would speak of his higher efforts for the life of the nation, were it not that the memory of them is engraven upon every American heart ; for the most concentrated and burning war-cry of the Union fell from his lips—

“ If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot.” (Tremendous applause.)

Ladies and Gentlemen—The most agreeable part of my duty remains to be performed. It is to propose the health of our distinguished guest, Major-General John A. Dix, the statesman, soldier, patriot, and scholar, who, in the

hour of national peril, unmindful of party, of interest, and of self, stood

" Among innumerable false, unmoved,
Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
His loyalty he kept—his love—his zeal."

(Long-continued applause.)

The whole audience arose and responded to the closing sentiment of the President, amidst the most enthusiastic cheering. When the applause had subsided, General Dix spoke as follows :—

SPEECH OF MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. DIX.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

I am greatly embarrassed by the complimentary language in which you have spoken of me and my public services ; and I accept it, not as the evidence of merit on my part, but of partiality on yours. I do not, however, value it the less as a testimonial of the kind feeling which has inspired it ; but I am utterly unable to respond, as I wish, to sentiments expressed with so much warmth and grace.

To you, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is equally hopeless to attempt to express my deep sense of the obligation I owe you for the conspicuous manner in which you are pleased to mark the termination of my official service in France. I am greatly indebted to you also for the friendly consideration which you have extended to me during my residence in Paris, and especially in the performance of my delicate and sometimes embarrassing unofficial duties. I have nothing to offer you in return but my heartfelt thanks.

It affords me great pleasure to make to you personally this acknowledgment of your oft-repeated acts of kindness and courtesy. Although I am glad to have an opportunity of bidding you all, before my separation from you, a cordial

farewell, it is a word I cannot pronounce without pain, even though it is the harbinger of my return to our native land. For it is not in the order of human life that another sun should see us all reassembled ; and yet I indulge the hope that for many of us—most of us, let us trust—this separation may be but transient, and that we may meet again beyond the sea and join our gratulating hands in friendly greetings on our natal soil.

Indeed, without this hope of return, there would be little to sustain us either in our enjoyments or our trials under foreign skies. As the needle, when put in motion, vibrates for a time from side to side, but always returns to the same point of attraction, so in all our wanderings, however divergent our paths may be, or however eccentric our movements, “ the heart untravelled ” is ever turning to the land across the ocean, where our best affections, our most precious memories, and our fondest hopes are centred. (Applause.)

Those of us who have been abroad in former years cannot have failed to notice that a much better feeling exists now in regard to us. For great events have occurred in the mean time to test the courage and the constancy of our people, and their devotion to great principles ; and it is to the manner in which they have passed through the fiery ordeal that this increased consideration is chiefly due. (Applause.) But there is a moral in the popular movement in America —there are circumstances connected with our development and growth, which I think are not justly appreciated in Europe ; not, I am sure, from any feeling of unkindness, but because they are not sufficiently understood ; and I trust a brief reference to the subject on this occasion will not be deemed out of place.

It is now nearly one hundred years since the people of the United States declared themselves free and independent. In thus assuming their sovereignty, they placed it on the

right of self-government and the fundamental principle of personal freedom. But, although this principle was theoretically proclaimed by our Declaration of Independence, it has but just now been fully carried out in practice, and only after one of the most desperate domestic conflicts the world has ever witnessed.

There is nothing, perhaps, more striking in the history of communities than the sudden development of unexpected results from causes which have been so long in operation that we have become almost unconscious of their influence. Such is the case with us. The civil war, through which we have just passed, had its origin to a great extent in a desire to protect the established system of domestic servitude, and to give it strength and durability, no doubt from a sincere belief on the part of those among whom it existed that it was essential to their prosperity. The result was its utter extinction. As has been eloquently said by an eminent writer and statesman of France, who is now enjoying a tranquil and an honourable old age—I mean Mr. Guizot : “ Providence is never in haste. It moves through “time as the gods of Homer moved through space. It “takes a step and years have rolled away.”

Such a step has been taken in our progress ; and henceforth, in all the time that is to come in our history—from the Great Lakes to the Rio Grande—from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean—the soil of America is never again to be trodden by a servile foot. (Great applause.) I allude to this subject in no sectional or partisan spirit, but as to an accomplished fact in history, which is to be regarded only under its economical and philosophical aspects.

It is no doubt well for communities, as it is for individuals, that they cannot look forward into the future and foresee the prosperity that awaits or the evil that is to befall them. And yet there are circumstances in our condition which enable us to point out, with reasonable ground

of assurance, the path in which we are destined to tread for many years to come. The greater portion of the Atlantic coast, on which our British ancestors established themselves, when compared with interior districts, is far less propitious in soil and less genial in clime. Almost from the first landings at Plymouth, in Massachusetts, and Jamestown, in Virginia, there was a perpetual gravitation, if I may be allowed the expression, towards the richer valleys of the Connecticut, the Mohawk, the Genesee, the Wyoming, and the Shenandoah. Before these vacant spaces were fully occupied, the great basin of the Mississippi, a thousand miles back from the New England coast, and, with its tributary, the Missouri, four thousand five hundred miles in length, with broad belts on either side, rich almost without a parallel with the alluvial deposits of ages, drew us still farther westward ; and now the mines of Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, Montana, Arizona, and California—realizing in the affluence of their treasures all our dreams of Oriental opulence ; the last in the series of the great mountain chains the richest of all—still urge us on to the extremest limit of our territory, until the waters of the Pacific break at our feet. These successive lures held out to us at each remove, and increasing in strength with our progress westward, indicate, with a significance not to be misunderstood, the mission which in the allotment of national fortunes we are appointed to fulfil. It is to carry the victorious arms of peace and unoffending labor across the North American Continent ; to convert a wilderness, which had been given up for ages to silence and solitude, and savage beasts, and still more savage men, into abodes of industry and art and civilization. If this current of attraction had been reversed ; if our chief centres of fertility had been found on the Atlantic coast, east of the Alleghany Mountains ; if Providence had not strewed along our path westward these high prizes to

stimulate and reward our enterprise, we should probably have been a mere mercantile community, occupying a comparatively narrow strip of maritime territory, a prey perhaps to the ambition and cupidity of more powerful nations, certainly involved in their disputes, and playing but an inconsiderable part in the great drama of international society and politics. As it is, we commenced four years ago a railroad across the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountain chains, and the great plains which spread themselves out from the eastern slope of the latter to the Missouri river. It is finished at the very hour I am addressing you. It is possible to perform the journey from New York to San Francisco, more than 3,000 miles from ocean to ocean, in six days; and thus, after the lapse of nearly four hundred years, is realized the prophetic dream, or, I should rather say the great thought, of Christopher Columbus, by opening a Western passage from Europe to the Indies. (Great applause.)

A century more will be needed to complete the work of civilization in which we are engaged. Happily, there is no external attraction, no outward pressure from within, to divert us from it. There never has been an instance in the history of human society in which so many elements combined to devote a great people to internal development, and to turn away their thoughts from the fatal policy of forcible aggrandisement. I call it a fatal policy, for all experience teaches that it is not only instinct with the spirit of international discord, but that it carries along with it all the elements of domestic disaster and humiliation. (Applause.) Is it not so, Mr. President? From an army of a million of men, brought together by a most distressing necessity, we have reduced our military force to less than forty thousand soldiers, with a population of nearly forty millions of souls, and with a territory equal to three-fourths of the entire geographical area of the continent of Europe.

I believe there are few intelligent persons on either side of the Atlantic who do not expect to see our jurisdiction still further enlarged. If this expectation is realised, it will be through amicable arrangements with other States. We have gained nothing heretofore by violence or injustice ; we desire to gain nothing by unworthy schemes of territorial acquisition—those dangerous instruments of ambition by which nations are nearly certain to work out, soon or late, their own downfall. (Applause.) If future accessions of territory come to us, it will be, as in the past, through causes prepared beyond the circle of our own influences, and by agencies higher than our own. It is on this condition only that such accessions will prove a blessing to ourselves or a benefit to mankind. (Applause.)

Such is the spirit of the popular movement across the continent of North America. Nearly all the great migrations which history has recorded, from the Christian Era to the present time, consist of the exodus of barbarous nations from the inhospitable regions in which they were bred, transferring themselves to more genial latitudes, and gaining possession by brute force of the treasures of civilization ; or of fiery incursions, the offspring of religious frenzy, seeking to propagate creeds of faith by fire and sword. Ours is the majestic, but the calm and bloodless, march of the hosts of civilization, in the ranks of which every nation in Christendom has its representatives, going forth to subdue a wilderness, and to extract from its woods, its soils, and its caverns, by the patient hand of industry, the treasures Nature has been accumulating from the beginning of time. In regard to the relations of the great States of the Eastern hemisphere to each other, we may be said to have been in the past, as I trust we may be in the future, an **UNARMED NEUTRALITY**, standing aloof from their rivalries and their conflicts, asserting within our own limits without any of the insignia of military force or preparation, but main-

taining through the more powerful agencies of opinion, the principles which we believe to be best calculated to secure our own happiness and prosperity, and to promote the welfare of the human race. In the spirit of peace, and not of war—of improvement, and not of devastation—of fraternity, and not of aggression,—

“Across the wide-spread continent our fathers’ flag we bear,
Each hill and vale from sea to sea the sacred sign shall wear,
And unseen hands shall strengthen ours to hold it high in air,
As we go marching on.”

(Great applause.)

What may be our condition and our destiny a hundred years hence, when the vacant spaces between the two oceans shall be filled up, and the reaction of population shall be felt, as it inevitably must be, from the shores of the Pacific, no human sagacity can foresee. We can only hope that there may be nothing in our history during the intervening years to render us unworthy of the prosperity which has been vouchsafed to us; that we may go on quietly and steadily to the completion of our great task; preserving our good faith in all things with scrupulous fidelity; respecting the laws and institutions of other countries, as we call on them to respect our own; abstaining from all interference in their domestic concerns—nay, more, abstaining from all propagandism, excepting through the peaceful example of good government within our own limits, leaving to Providence to determine in what manner and to what extent the principles of our political system shall, in other quarters of the globe, exert an influence friendly to the advancement and diffusion of knowledge, the progress of improvement in industry and the arts, and the best good of the human race.

By a firm adherence to these just rules of action, we believe we may confidently count upon a measure of prosperity as full, and a reputation as free from reproach, as have fallen to the lot of any people in the annals of time.

We trust there is no egotism in this thought. We are sure there is no unworthy ambition in it. We believe there is no presumption in trusting to Providence for a continuance of our prosperity if we observe towards those who fall under the dominion of our government, whether native or foreign born, the principles of equal justice ; and if, in our intercourse with foreign States, we conform to those rules of international right and obligation which have received the sanction of the civilized world ; demanding only that the same maxims of reciprocal justice shall be as sacredly respected by others, and that the high seas, the common pathway of nations, shall be free from all pretension to superiority or arbitrary control. (Applause.)

Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot sit down without saying a few words to you in regard to the Government under the protection of which you are living. Between France and the United States there has been from the earliest period a strong bond of affinity, which ought never to be broken. She came to our aid during the trying period of our infancy —nay, during the very throes of our national gestation—and rendered us the most essential service. The swords of Washington and Greene and Lafayette and Rochambeau on the land, and of De Grasse and d'Estaing and Truxton and John Paul Jones on the sea, were unsheathed in the cause of our independence ; and but for this active and friendly co-operation the conflict would, no doubt, have been more protracted and more costly, both in treasure and blood. It may, perhaps, be in some degree owing to this early association that, with interests running in the same channel, and, therefore, in danger of collision, the misunderstandings between the two countries have for nearly a century been few in number, unimportant in their character, brief in duration, and leaving behind them no rankling feeling of resentment. (Applause.)

The advantages enjoyed in Paris by the American

colony, which has become so populous as almost to constitute a distinctive feature in the physiognomy of the city, can be by none better appreciated than by ourselves. We are as completely under the protection of the Government as the citizens of France, and we are required to contribute nothing directly to its support. We are living without personal taxation or exactions of any sort in this most magnificent of modern capitals, full of objects of interest, abounding in all that can gratify the taste, as well as in sources of solid information; and these treasures of art and of knowledge are freely opened to our inspection and use. Nor is this all. We are invited to participate most liberally—far more liberally than at any other Court in Europe—in the hospitalities of the Palace. I have, myself, during the two years and a half of my service here, presented to their Imperial Majesties more than three hundred of our fellow citizens of both sexes; and a much larger number presented in former years have, during the same period, shared the same courtesies. With these associations of the past and of the present, the prosperity of this great Empire cannot be a matter of indifference to us; and it speaks strongly in favor of the illustrious Sovereign who, for the last twenty years, has held its destinies in his hands, that the condition of the people, materially and intellectually, has been constantly improving, and that the aggregate prosperity of the country is greater perhaps at the present moment than it has been at any former period of time. It is worthy of remark, too, that the venerable leader of the Opposition in the Corps Législatif, one of those remarkable men who leave the impress of their opinions on the age in which they live, recently declared that the Government, in many essential respects, was in a course of liberal progress. As you know, the debates in that body on questions of public policy are unrestricted; they are reported with great

accuracy, and promptly published in the official journal and other newspaper presses ; and thus the people of France are constantly advised of all that is said for or against the administrative measures which concern their interests. In liberal views and in that comprehensive forecast which shapes the policy of the present to meet the exigencies of the future, the Emperor seems to me to be decidedly in advance of his Ministers, and even of the popular body chosen by universal suffrage to aid him in his legislative labors. (Applause.)

Of her who is the sharer of his honors and the companion of his toils, who, in the hospital, at the altar, or on the throne, is alike exemplary in the discharge of her varied duties, whether incident to her position or voluntarily taken upon herself, it is difficult for me to speak without rising above the level of the common language of eulogium. But I am standing here to-day as a citizen of the United States, without official relations to my own Government or to any other ; I have taken my leave of the Imperial family, and I know no reason why I may not freely speak what I honestly think, especially as I know I can say nothing which will not find a cordial response in your own breasts. As in the history of the ruder sex, great luminaries have from time to time risen high above the horizon to break and, at the same time, to illustrate the monotony of the general movement ; so in the annals of her's, brilliant lights have at intervals shone forth and shed their lustre upon the stately march of regal pomp and power. Such was one of her royal predecessors of whom Edmund Burke said, “there never lighted on this orb, which she scarcely seemed to touch, a more delightful vision.” Such was that radiant Queen of Bohemia, whose memory history has embalmed, and to whom Sir Henry Wotton, in a moment of poetic exaltation, compared the beauties of the skies. And such is She of whom I am

speaking. When I have seen her taking part in that most imposing, as I think, of all Imperial pageants, the opening of the Legislative Chambers, standing amid the assembled magistracy of Paris and of France, surrounded by the representatives of the talent, the genius, the learning, the literature, and the piety of this great empire, or amid the resplendent scenes of the palace, moving about with a gracefulness all her own, and with a simplicity of manner which has a double charm when allied to exalted rank and station, I confess I have more than once whispered to myself, and I believe not always inaudibly, that beautiful verse of the graceful and courtly Claudian, the last of the Roman poets—

“Divino semita gressu claruit;”

or, rendered into our plain English and stripped of its poetic hyperbole, “the very path she treads is radiant with her unrivalled step.” (Long-continued applause.)

But I must not be tempted by any theme, however inspiring, to trespass longer on your patience. Before I conclude I desire to express my gratification that I am addressing you in the presence of my successor, Mr. Washburne, a gentleman who has been long distinguished in the legislative councils of our country, and who enjoys in an eminent degree the confidence of the chief magistrate of the Union. We have been personally acquainted many years; and it is with sincere pleasure that, in taking the diplomatic mantle from my own shoulders, I am permitted to lay it upon his. As my predecessor, Mr. Bigelow, asked for me a continuance of the kindness and forbearance you had always extended to him, so do I solicit in behalf of my successor, Mr. Washburne, a repetition of the same friendly offices; and I congratulate you in advance on the gratification I am sure you will derive from your association with him and his family. (Applause.)

And now I have but one word more to say, after renew-

ing the expression of my thanks for all your kindness and courtesy, and that is to wish you, as I do from the bottom of my heart, all possible happiness and prosperity. (Warm and long-continued applause.)

When the applause which followed the conclusion of General Dix's speech had subsided, and after a brief interval, which was improved by the orchestra, the President arose and said :—

It is now my privilege to introduce to your personal acquaintance one whose history is familiar to you all ; who for sixteen years, in the Congress of the United States, has been the zealous defender of liberty, and the watchful guardian of the Treasury ; the friend of the sainted Lincoln, the fearless champion of our warrior President ere his genius had lighted up the world ; the child of the East—the man of the West ; the representative of the nation at the Court of our ancient ally, the Hon. E. B. Washburne.

Mr. Washburne, on rising, was received with repeated cheers, and responded in the following terms :—

SPEECH OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON.
E. B. WASHBURNE.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

I tender you my sincere thanks for the very kind and complimentary terms in which you have been pleased to introduce me on the present occasion. I wish to express my gratification in being able to be present here to-night to join with the American residents in Paris in doing honor to the distinguished man who has just retired from his position as the American representative near the Court of France, a position which he has filled with so much ability, tact, and judgment, so much to the acceptance of his own Government, to our American citizens here, and so agree-

ably to the Government to which he was accredited. (Applause.)

I listened, Mr. President, with great pleasure to the just and eloquent and graceful tribute you paid to him whom we have met to honor this evening, and it was plain to see that your words found a cordial and generous response from all present. You have alluded to his long and distinguished career in the military as well as the civil and diplomatic service of his country, extending through a period, I believe, longer than that of any man now on the stage of American politics. And in all the public positions he has held, he has so conducted himself and so discharged all his duties as to make his name respected and honored wherever the American name is known. You have also alluded to an incident in his life so familiar to us all, and which is never mentioned but to stir all American hearts. I hope you will pardon me, General, if I should add a word to that history. No loyal man participating in public affairs at Washington will ever forget those terrible months of anxiety which immediately preceded the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln's Administration. Our grand old ship of state was drifting out to the sea of rebellion, and the American people stood aghast at the spectacle of their own Government being surrendered to traitors by their own sworn rulers. General Cass illustrated his patriotism and love of country by indignantly resigning as Secretary of State, when the Administration refused to take action to hold Fort Sumter. Cobb held on as Secretary of the Treasury in order to destroy the credit of the Government, and succeeded to that extent that we could only borrow money in Wall-street at twelve per cent., while our Six per Cents. are now at twenty-three per cent. premium. Floyd held on to enable himself to place our arms and munitions of war in the hands of the rebels. Toucey continued in place to send our men-of-war to distant seas, and Thompson remained in

the Interior Department to give his greater influence to the cause of secession. But when by the force of an indignant public sentiment Cobb was driven out, and while condemning the weak and oscillating policy of Mr. Buchanan, we must ever be thankful to him for calling to the Treasury Department at that terrible crisis a man of the loyalty, courage, firmness, and ability of General John A. Dix. (Great applause.) I have spoken of the anxious months in Washington before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. In that time of rebellion and revolution no man knew what a day might bring forth. General Scott had removed his headquarters to Washington, and was trying to gather together the fragments of our little army, which had been scattered to the four corners of our vast territory, and was also endeavouring to gain information touching the rebel movements. It was then my fortune to be associated with a distinguished western senator, Governor Grimes, of Iowa, in the work of watching the operations of the secessionists in and about Washington. That brought us into frequent consultation with the Lieutenant-General. During an interview one evening the servant announced General Dix, the Secretary of the Treasury, and he was invited immediately into the room. After passing the compliments of the evening, General Dix said he had come to consult General Scott on a point of military law—that he found himself a little rusty on that subject, having been so long out of military service. He then went on to explain that a Captain Breshwood, in command of one of our revenue cutters at New Orleans, had turned a traitor, and was about to put the cutter into the service of the rebels. That being the case the point with Gen. Dix was whether he had the right to order the second officer of the cutter to put his superior officer under arrest as a mutineer; and he then took from his pocket a despatch which he had prepared on the subject, and which he then read to the Lieutenant-

General. It was the despatch alluded to by the President, which history will transmit to the latest generations. I shall never forget how the eyes of the old chieftain lighted up when the despatch was read, and how warmly he exclaimed, "Capital; it is just the thing. You are not at fault, General, in your military law. I hope you will send it right off." The General responded, he had only delayed it to have his opinion, and that it would go at once. After General Dix had left the room, General Scott rubbed his hands with absolute delight, and said to Governor Grimes and myself, "What a glorious thing it is to have a military man associated with you in such a time." (Applause.) And now, Mr. President, when we here gaze on the ample folds of that flag, without a stripe erased or a single star obscured, but each illustrating the power and glory of our country—(applause)—that flag borne always in triumph in foreign and domestic war, floating on every sea, and in every land the ægis and shield of us all, revered and venerated by all Americans in our heart of hearts, we all respond to that sentiment of our guest, destined to become immortal—"If anyone attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." (Great applause.)

Mr. President, when I look forward to my own official residence here, following upon that of my distinguished friend, I can but feel how far short I shall fall of reaching that high standard he has erected for an American Minister at the Court of our ancient ally. But I can pledge my honest endeavour so to discharge all my duties as to give satisfaction to my Government, and in a manner acceptable to my countrymen who are abroad. (Applause.) In any official action I shall endeavour to maintain the relations existing between the two Governments, which, I am happy to say, are now of the most cordial character. (Applause.) It will add to the pleasure of my residence in Paris to be able to meet so many of my countrymen, distinguished for

their patriotism and intelligence, enterprise and honor; and also my fair countrywomen, whose virtues are only equalled by their beauty, and whose charms grace the society of this beautiful city. (Applause.)

I should be forgetful of the obligations of gratitude to a constituency to whom I owe so much, did I not refer to your kind allusion to my service in the Congress of the United States. In the long and eventful years of that service, I make no claim to public regard further than having strived conscientiously to do my whole duty without fear or favor; and if I have accomplished any good for my country, it was because I had the friendship of a constituency which for nine successive elections supported and sustained me, through good and evil report, with a zeal and devotion which in all lands and in all times must for ever challenge my profoundest gratitude. (Applause.)

You have been kind enough, Mr. President, to couple my name with that of a man whose memory is enshrined in all our hearts and whose name trembles on all our lips—ABRAHAM LINCOLN; a man who in four short years of the civil administration of our Government, chained his name to the history of the world. It was my fortune to enjoy his friendship both in private and official life for a quarter of a century. But I pause; for if this were even the occasion I should fail, for I feel how utterly inadequate I am to the task of pronouncing a fitting eulogy on that great Martyr to Liberty. (Applause.) But every American drops a tear on the green grave where his ashes repose, among the people of that State of his and of my adoption, and by whom he was so much beloved. But all the nations loved him too, and at “the deep damnation of his taking off” they honored his memory as the memory of man has not been honored in our own time—

“Such honors Ilion to her hero paid,
And peaceful sleeps the mighty Hector’s shade.”

(Applause.)

It was kind of you, Mr. President, to allude to the relations existing between the President and myself. While I have had the honor to enjoy his friendship and confidence, I have no right to claim any particular credit for his championship. Becoming satisfied at an early period in the war that he had great and exceptional qualities, both as a soldier and a man, I deemed it my duty to bring his name to the notice of the Government, and when attacked while in the service it was my duty to him, as a townsman and constituent, to defend him from the unjust attacks made upon him. And we all know how soon the period arrived when he required no defender, and how he carved his way to the gratitude and admiration of his countrymen with the point of his conquering sword. (Applause.) At the head of his victorious legions he fought more battles than he could count years, and at last suppressed the greatest rebellion of modern times, vindicated the national authority, and restored the government of our fathers. (Applause.) A grateful and confiding people have called him to preside over the destinies of the country which his valor saved. Differing as we honestly may in political sentiment, all can but hope that he may prove as successful in the civil as he was victorious in the military service of his country; and that by the wisdom and justice and moderation of his administration he may heal the wounds of civil war, and lead all our people on in the paths of happiness, prosperity and glory. (Applause.)

You need not be told of the regrets to be experienced at the departure of our late Minister, and I feel that I am safe in saying that when he shall leave the shores of France for our own beloved land, that he will bear with him the best wishes and the kindest regards of every person who has had the happiness to know him during his official residence in Paris. (Applause.) I wish to join in the earnest prayer of you all that, with bright skies and favoring gales, he

may have vouchsafed a happy return to his family and friends

“ In the land of the free
And the home of the brave.”

(Loud applause.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Washburne's speech, the President again rose and said:—

It is our good fortune to have with us to-night one who from his very boyhood was eloquent in his country's cause. He pleaded for the rights of four millions of slaves until their last fetters fell. He now, in loftier tones, pleads before the nations the cause of four hundred millions of men.

Proud of him as an American, always loyal to his country, still prouder are we that he has been faithful to his trust in his present mission, and has used the great powers confided to him in no partial sense.

I now present to you the Minister of China, the Hon. Anson Burlingame.

Mr. Burlingame arose, and, the applause with which he was warmly greeted ceasing, responded:—

SPEECH OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON. A. BURLINGAME.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

I thank you for the kind manner in which you have seen fit to speak of me. I thank this company also for its manifestation of good will.

It is a satisfaction to be recognised as one who loves his country and his fellow-men; but I am not here to respond to personal allusions, however grateful I may feel for them; I am here to pay homage to that illustrious citizen whose great qualities you have so well described. (Applause.) I am here to forget in the ardour of friendship the language of diplomacy—to bid him God speed to the home that he has honored and the land that loves him well. (Applause.)

As I listened to his modest and tasteful speech, describing the progress of the institutions of our country, I felt that the best illustration of them was the speaker himself. (Applause.) Born on the coldest hills of New England, with no advantages not open alike to all, he has filled nearly every post of trust and honor which his country could confer. He has in his own person shed a new lustre upon civil, military, and diplomatic life. The simple statement of these facts is the best tribute to his country and himself (applause), for it shows the power of the one to develop the energy of the other. But for such men as he is, the lures of the beautiful valleys, which he has so charmingly described, would have lain in silence for ever ; but for the antecedent personal liberty of which he has spoken such men as he could not have existed, and personal liberty itself would not have been established but for the great thoughts and fearless efforts of the men who first stood on the shores of the western continent. (Applause.)

To understand the amazing energy of the American people we must remember not only these men, but we must recall the character of the emigrants who have passed from the old to the new world. They have been the most daring children of Europe. We must remember that it required more courage to cross the Atlantic, until recently, than to fight a battle. So it was the bravest son and the most fearless daughter who would face the perils of the deep and the dangers beyond. It required great courage to go and more to remain, for it was not a festive land to which they went, but one of toil and danger. Nature had to be subdued, and barbarism and their own prejudices.

From the Pilgrims to this hour that heroic people have left the impress of their mighty energies upon the physical and moral world. (Applause.) There is no danger which they have not dared. There is no question which they have not discussed and settled, and in such a way as to broaden

and deepen the foundations of freedom. (Applause.) When it was sought to build a government upon the prejudices of religion, they would not have it; when it was sought to tax them without representation, they fought for seven years all over a continent, and established their independence. (Applause.)

When it was sought to introduce as a permanent element into our Government the wild phantasy that there can be property in man, they arose and entered upon a struggle which cost the lives of five hundred thousand men, the dearest souls that ever entered the gates of Paradise. (Applause.) Because of this your guest was able to make the proud boast that now no servile foot presses the soil of his country. (Applause.) But the war is over; what was fought for is gone for ever. Let the sunshine of a thousand peaceful summers settle upon the common graves of our gallant countrymen. (Applause.) We are brothers now. (Applause.) We have had a great fight, let us have a great fraternization. (Long-continued applause.) Let us join hands and hearts, and rallying round the symbols of our ancient faith and common glory, press on with irresistible strength to the swift-coming future. (Applause.) Let us rejoice together that the great fabric of our Government rests, not upon a single prejudice whether of religion, or color, or race, but upon a great principle which gives equal and exact justice to all. (Applause.) Because our guest knows the history of his country, because he knows the character of its people, because the great spirit of the fathers is upon him and the fiery energy of their children is in his heart, he could, looking back upon the past—upon his own experience covering half a century in which he has taken a part in the discussion and settlement of the greatest questions that ever engaged the attention of mortal man—(applause)—he could, I say, looking to such a past and turning to the future, lift up his voice like a

prophet whose words will find an echo in every American heart. (Applause.) Because of this he could define the laws of progress for his country, and state with precision the conditions on which it must be made. Let us hope, with him, that its great march towards the achievement of the mission he has mentioned may be peaceful (applause); that it will not enter upon any armed propagandism of its views. Let us join him in the aspiration that by the majesty of its action it will attract other peoples and other lands to its peaceful sway. (Applause.) Let us join him in the desire that our country shall not interfere in the affairs of others; for it is the sacred right of every people to unfold themselves in precisely that form of civilization of which they are most capable. It is their right to have the jurisdiction of their own affairs, and for those who think alike and speak alike to act together for their enlightened interests and in the development of true nationalism. (Applause.) But while we do not interfere in other people's affairs, nor permit them to interfere in ours, we cannot forget that we are a great nation, that we cannot abdicate our responsibilities, that we must take our part in the peaceful police of the sea and the land (applause), and in the maintenance of those principles of international law which recognize the equality of nations as we recognize the equality of men. (Applause.) That, as it is the highest duty of every society to protect the weak from the strong, so the weak nations and struggling peoples should find ample protection in that sense of justice of the strong nations which they cannot lose and prosper. (Applause.)

And now, joining our distinguished friend in his tribute to the French nation and the rulers whom they have chosen—joining him especially in his surpassingly beautiful tribute to the Empress—(applause)—let us with full hearts bid him farewell, and hope for him every joy that may come to mortals. (Warm applause.)

The President, on introducing the Hon. Alexander H. Bullock, said :—

We have with us to-night an eminent citizen of the Old Bay State—one who has long been identified with its institutions and government, and who by his eloquence and learning has added fresh renown to its Legislative and Executive Departments.

I beg to introduce to you the Hon. Alexander H. Bullock, late Governor of Massachusetts. (Great applause.)

SPEECH OF THE HON. ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

It seems scarcely less than a superfluity that anything should be added to the striking and felicitous remarks which have already expressed our purpose and crowned the occasion. And yet there is nothing superfluous, after all, in saying once more before we separate how largely our countryman and friend, the late Minister, takes with him, as he sets his face towards home, the absolute respect and esteem of all Americans whether resident or transient on this side of the ocean. And certainly this is a free-will offering, which never was more justly merited by anyone. To that executive capacity and straightforwardness which marked his labors in this as in every former field in which we have known him, in the discharge of his duties at this capital he has added a patience, courtesy, and kindness towards his many countrymen visiting here, which I am sure they are all ready to place high among the diplomatic virtues. I doubt not you will indulge me in one other remark in relation to this gentleman,—involving some delicacy indeed when uttered in his presence, but quite fit to be introduced in the general survey of his character which we are entitled to take at this moment. For myself, the respect for General Dix, which has brought me to this

table, is not by any means diminished by what I believe to be the fact,—a fact possibly a little more rare now than at some former periods among public men,—that he retires from a prominent official life of twenty-five years with the power safely to challenge the closest scrutiny of his conduct and without having added to his private fortune. When such men quit the public service they leave the country greatly in debt to them. (Applause.)

To an assemblage like the present,—comprising Americans who represent the several characteristic occupations, ranging all the way between those who are stationed here in fixed commercial relations and the greater number who are here for a longer or shorter period in pursuit of general knowledge and recreation,—a portion having taken on somewhat the complexion of this local sky, while others feel passing over their cheeks only the color of the sky they recently parted from at home,—but all Americans still, with hearts beating true to the anthem of their country and eyes rekindling at every fresh instance of her progress and glory,—to you and me, one and all, it is gratifying to believe, against every idle rumour from whatsoever quarter it may come, that we sit this evening in the shade of a cordial and compacted concord between France and the United States. There are historical reasons why the Emperor and the President should be thoughtful of the present hour. This is to both countries a centennial era. It is not far from this time an hundred years since the lilies of France were borne on many a field of ours to a conquest which gave to us also an independent flag. In all this lapse of time, through the successive dynasties and administrations, between the land of Lafayette and the land of Washington, that ensign which the two won together has not been ruffled by a serious adversity. Whatever evil *might* once or twice have happened, and whatever evil some persons would have had happen, none has actually occurred.

Nor is any likely to occur. No people have better reason than the French to respect the history of the Great Republic, and none can better afford in interest and sentiment to welcome the fact that this history has no steps backward to take—that the North American Union is at length complete, and that the name of its President is itself a flag. (Applause.) Then the commerce of the two countries has been and must continue to be a perpetual peace-maker and peace-preserved. Nor can I deem it frivolous or merely sentimental to speak of a pending event as fit to become another guaranty of enduring friendship. Before the most rapid of our tourists now here shall find their way back to New York or Boston, we may expect that the ship, at present taking on board its freight in a French port, shall carry to our shore the only cable actually joining Europe with the United States. And you will pardon me if with a local pride I take to heart what I have read during my present stay in Paris, the Act of the Government of my State of Massachusetts—the only sovereignty that could confer the boon—granting the right to land this electric messenger of commerce and amity upon the coast of Cape Cod; by the same waters which two hundred and fifty years back furnished anchorage to that famous little bark that bore in its cabin the Constitution of the future Republic. (Applause.) Most assuredly, Mr. President, in these passages of history, in these august events,—in the stedfast union of the king of that early day with our own Washington, in the uninterrupted friendship between both countries during a century, in the forthcoming last act which is to impress upon the very earth beneath the ocean the signet seal of assurance for a common fraternity in the future,—in these three, I am justified in finding that real *triple alliance*, of which the newspapers in the recent display of their prolific ingenuity have not even given us the mention. (Laughter and applause.)

Gentlemen, it must at times have seemed to you, as it has to me, that here, far away from home, and removed from participation in the events and excitements transpiring there, an American citizen may perceive in even more clear and conspicuous light the proportions of his country without exaggeration and without diminution. While we remained there we ourselves were actors, and our senses partook of the confusion of the scenes. But the transparent medium of distance presents to our sight the whole grand picture, correctly limned, free from the illusion of coloring, and without shackles upon the outline. Accordingly, to no portion of our countrymen do the historical stages, and growths, and achievements of their nation appear more sensibly or more impressively than to those of them who are in foreign lands. Here quite impartially you apprehend in the fulness of its meaning, and seize, in your pride and affection, that recent lesson of a national unity now for the first time achieved and established beyond every possibility of disruption in the ages to come. All the antagonisms which had accumulated for a century, all the oppositions of sections and climates and products, all the diversities of histories and races, which from the beginning had imperilled the existence of a common central sovereignty, have been welded by the flames of war into one bond of paternal strength, which belts the continent, makes it indissoluble from vices within, and makes it invincible to forces from abroad. (Applause.) No person can realise better than you that there is not an American merchant upon this eastern hemisphere,—in London, Paris, St. Petersburg, on either side of the Cape of Good Hope,—who does not now feel, as he could never feel before, that he represents a Government which is capable of protecting him. Having proved sufficient to maintain its own integrity in the severest of recorded struggles, it may henceforth be considered able to defend the honor and rights of its citizens in

every part of the globe. If twenty-five millions, not without some division among themselves, could levy and subsist and animate the recent armies, to which there has been no parallel in modern annals, it is not difficult to say what forty millions would accomplish with one heart and one mind pervading the whole area from centre to circumference. Let us trust that the day is far distant when such power will be summoned to the requisition. There is exemption from arms in the existence of power. The aim of our country is humanity ; and therefore it is progress. Its end is justice ; in due time and at all hazards justice to itself and justice to its citizens ; and therefore it will be peace. (Great applause.)

I should be incomplete in my appreciation of the spirit of patriotic congratulation which pervades this convention of Americans, if I should not unite with you in hailing a late event in our country as the last decisive harbinger of commerce and empire. Hitherto the geographical features of our territory have been in some particulars against us. Mountain ridges have stood in the way of commercial unity. For thirty-five years we have by railroad communication overcome these obstacles, one after another, until only a single field of separation remained closed to the rapid exchange of the agencies of civilization between the Atlantic and the Pacific States. Now at length, almost in an unexpected hour, brain and muscle have conquered geography, the civil engineer has suddenly become master of the situation, and the song of Bishop Berkeley is repeated by electric beat in one and the same moment of civic ovation at New York and San Francisco. (Applause.) It was formerly a custom at Venice to solemnise the espousal of the city with the Adriatic by imposing ceremonies in which the Doge and the Court participated. How transcendently surpassing that was the late simple and sublime bridal of the Atlantic and the Pacific, celebrated midway in the heart of our con-

tinent! Or rather perhaps I should more properly say, it was not so much an espousal as it was a national coronation. California and Arizona and Nevada bore the mace of silver and gold before the Queen of Nations receiving her imperial crown; receiving it not from the hands of bristling soldiery but from the arm of the engineer and the laborer, all the hosts of agriculture, commerce, and the arts, in the towns and upon the prairies, catching at the same instant the signal of the new era and re-echoing it from ocean to ocean. (Applause.) The great work is done, and hereafter the States are a unit in commerce as in government. Before my friend, Mr. Burlingame, has half completed his cosmopolitan mission, the freight trains have been made up at San Francisco laden with the product of China; and by the time he shall have unpacked his trunks at Berlin, he may drink at the breakfast-table his favorite tea, which, thanks to the irrepressible and irresistible Yankees (laughter), has been brought round to him the other way. All things are changed by these new comers upon the world's arena. As in war there is no longer a prestige save to the strongest legions, so in the cultures of peace the fruits of success fall into the arms of those who get up earliest in the morning and carry the clearest heads and the most indomitable energy through the labors of the day. And that condition can only be fully attained in a country where the personal liberty of the individual man, free education and voluntary religion, a right to enjoy his conscience, his earnings, and an unrestricted, unmolested suffrage in the choice of his rulers, expands his soul, exhilarates his life, and moves him to enterprise, adventure, and independence. (Applause.) We may well rejoice that such is the opportunity and the fortune of every citizen of the United States, and that our country enjoys a corresponding result to the sisterhood of nations. Whatever attractions other countries may present to us, whatever objects of interest to the senses, whatever to be studied and

admired, these in due time pale before the larger conception of national justice, freedom, and power, and the dust of our native land becomes dearer to us than all other lands beside. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, it is the spontaneous impulse of my heart to say a word to you about the honorable gentleman who succeeds General Dix as our national representative at the Imperial Court. My own acquaintance with Mr. Washburne probably antedates that which any one of you can recall. It happened that thirty years ago the next autumn we occupied rooms side by side as students at law in the University at Cambridge. Following his profession in another section of the Union, he has engrafted upon the education of the East the stout and manly qualities of the West. He brings to his high mission the teachings of Story, enriched by a large experience in public life. These will stand by him and support him, as upon every occasion he will stand by and support his country. Having the confidence of the President and the people, he has already received yours fully in advance, and I could not refrain from uniting my feeble but cordial tribute with the common testimonial. (Loud applause.)

The President arose and said that the hour now being late, he would close the ceremonies of the occasion by calling upon the Rev. Dr. Robinson to invoke the Divine blessing.

THANKS.

Our Father which art in Heaven ! We thank Thee for this assemblage of countrymen and friends. And now before we separate, in decorous and reverent silence, we bring ourselves to

Thee. God bless the President of the United States and all associated with him in the rule of the Republic. God bless the Emperor of the French and all the Imperial household, under the shelter of whose protection we have been permitted to meet. God bless his servant who now journeys over the sea, and as well his servant whom we welcome in the vacant place. We thank Thee for the memories of the one, and for the hopes centred in the other. We thank Thee for the mellow beams of the setting sun, and for the bright rays of the sun that is rising. We thank Thee for the gentle dignity which lays down the robes of office, and for the manly, modest confidence which assumes them. We thank Thee for the worth that claims recognition and for the generous appreciation that meets it. Grant, we beseech of Thee, to us all, that when our work is completed we may receive for our fidelity that reward, sweeter than any plaudit from merely human lips—" Well done, thou good and faithful servant ! " And to Thee be all grace and glory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.—Amen.





LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 011 897 351 3

